THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Snapshots of its history

On display at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
7 October – 20 December, 2002
Text by Harold Averill

This exhibition and its accompanying catalogue are part of the year-long celebrations of the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the University of Toronto. Professor Martin L. Friedland's acclaimed The *University of Toronto: A History* was launched in March and it seems most appropriate, as 2002 draws to a close, that an exhibition curated by Harold Averill, who was intimately involved in the history project, should round out the year.

Harold has provided evocative "snapshots" of the whole history of the University of Toronto: its buildings, its faculty, staff and students, and the vital role it has played in the evolution of society in Toronto and the rest of the country. We catch glimpses of the political conflict, scientific progress, sports, the arts and all the other aspects of varsity life that have contributed to our vibrant culture.

We wish to acknowledge another instance of the generosity of our old Friend Wentworth Walker and the continued support of the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Velut Arbor Aevo.

Richard Landon, Director

RB267821

Preface

It is a great pleasure to write a preface to this volume by Harold Averill. Harold's store of knowledge about the history of the University of Toronto is unique, as the display and this text amply demonstrate. He knows the sources and, moreover, can find them. In writing the history of the University over a five year period, my research assistants and I learned first hand about Harold's expertise. In the prologue to *The University of Toronto: A History* I state: "I am particularly indebted to archivist Harold Averill, the great font of historical knowledge about the University, who helped me and my research assistants find material and photographs." Anyone who has worked in the U of T Archives would say the same. Now other persons who view the exhibit or read this volume can see for themselves why I called him the 'great font of historical knowledge about the University.' He has captured succinctly in his text 175 years of history and has found pictures, documents and artefacts – most of which have not been shown before – to illuminate that history.

Martin Friedland

CASE ONE
KING'S COLLEGE

King's College faced many conflicts and challenges over its twenty-three years as a legal entity and its short period (seven years) of existence as a teaching institution. These arose from the conflicting interests of imperial and local officials, of local religious bodies, and of the University officials themselves. The most contentious issues were the control of King's College by the local Anglican establishment and the preferential treatment it was accorded in its charter* by being granted 226,000 acres of crown land, from the sale of which it was to obtain revenues to open and run the University.

While the endowment was shared with Upper Canada College, the other religious denominations – the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics – were excluded. These denominations soon established their own colleges and continued to campaign against King's. Although the College was replaced by the University of Toronto in 1850, the denominational colleges did not win the battle over the endowment. It was transferred to the new institution and continued to be a source of irritation for the next forty years.

These political battles delayed real progress on the opening of King's College until the early 1840s. It was due to the initiative of Sir Charles Bagot,* the Governor General appointed in 1842, that the College opened at all. John Strachan,* the moving force behind the granting of the charter to King's in 1827, proved an impediment as Bagot pushed forward with the hiring of the professorate. Strachan did not want John McCaul, then the principal of Upper Canada College, to be president, arguing that the post should be given to an Englishman (McCaul was Irish). Bagot, who was dying, would brook no delays and the College opened for business on 8 June 1843.

The College, however, proved a much less grand affair than initially envisioned and promoted in the public spectacles of the laying of the cornerstone and its official opening. Due in part to mismanagement by the College council, there was a chronic shortage of funds. Strachan himself borrowed £5,250 which he paid back only in part and the sale and leasing of land until 1839 was handled by a bursar with no accountancy skills and an astonishing naiveté in conducting the business of his office. Only a portion of one wing of the two authorized by Bagot was ever built. Located on the site of the present Legislative Buildings, it was used as a residence,* while courses were conducted in the temporarily unoccupied legislative buildings on Front Street that were refitted at a considerable expense to the College.

The curriculum was also much narrower than envisaged by the council in its more imaginative moments. Certain chairs – agriculture, architecture, civil engineering, geology, mineralogy, music, painting, and political economy – were never filled. While some were ahead of the current needs of the province, others would have been of immediate benefit to it. Agriculture, for instance,

was promised to George Buckland*, a prominent English agriculturalist[1] who was enticed to come to Canada in 1847, but he did not receive the appointment until 1852 after a chair was created at the University of Toronto.

The quality of the faculty varied for it proved difficult for Bagot to obtain the first-class men he sought. One of its most progressive members was the young German-trained chemist, Henry Holmes Croft,* who found in W.C. Gwynne, the Trinity College, Dublin trained professor of anatomy and physiology, an ally to challenge decisions of the Church-dominated council. Perhaps the least popular was James Beaven, professor of ethics, whose tetchy personality and dry lecturing style did not endear him to his students (his eventual retirement in 1871 was due in large part to student displeasure). James Murray, professor of mathematics and the first 'political' appointee to the faculty (he vacated his position as superintendent of education in favour of Egerton Ryerson), is memorialized in a bit of doggerel from a student song: 'Here's to the professor of dull mathematics; he know more about steaks than he does about statics'.[2]

In 1848, with the election of the second Baldwin-Lafontaine government, the fate of the College was sealed. The residence, which had consistently lost money, was closed at the end of 1848.[3] An act abolishing the College and replacing it with a non-sectarian University of Toronto was passed in May 1849 and the premier, appointed a commission of enquiry* (the University's first) into its affairs. During the course of the summer a local observer wrote, "the Buildings occupied by King's College classes are to be converted to Public offices & Legislative Assembly House and the Museum & apparatus &c is in course of removal. I obtained an introduction to Dr. McCaul...and such of the confused debris of the Collegiate establishment as remained he kindly showed me."[4]

CASE TWO
BUILDING A COLLEGE

On 1 January 1850, the University of Toronto arose like a phoenix from the ashes of King's College, complete with its endowment and most of its teaching staff, but with no building to call its own. This was remedied in part by the construction in 1850 of a white brick building, later known as Moss Hall, for the medical faculty. The rest of the University had to make do with shifting makeshift quarters for several years as the fledgling University was buffeted by the political manoeuvring and space requirements of the government of the Province of Canada.

The continuing physical dislocation was accompanied by a massive revision of the University of Toronto Act in 1853. It abolished the faculties of law and medicine, created University College as the teaching body for Arts, left the University with few powers but to examine and grant degrees, and entrenched government interference in the internal affairs of the University for the next fifty years. The combination of blows nearly destroyed the University and it took a new Governor General, Sir Edmund Walker Head, to place the University on a sounder footing with the construction of University College.

The physical presence of University College still dominates the central campus, in spite of recent additions of massive modern buildings such as the Medical Sciences Building. In 1856, however, there was no assurance that it would survive. The building committee established by the Senate of the University consisted effectively of one man, John Langton,* the auditor-general of the Province of Canada, aided by an advisory committee that included Daniel Wilson, the newly-appointed professor of History and English Literature, and the aforementioned Henry Croft. This was a vigorous group of men in their prime and with wide expertise. Langton was the oldest at 48 and Croft the youngest at 35. The 40-year-old Daniel Wilson,* a self-taught antiquarian and an expert on the architecture of old Edinburgh, furnished drawings for many of the building's architectural details, the great double-lit window in the tower, and the three finials on the corners of the tower which balance the turret at the northeast corner.[5]

The ongoing feud with the denominational colleges over the endowment and their resentment over the magnificence of the structure itself – the original appropriation was £75,000 for the building and a further £20,000 for the contents of the Library – meant that the cornerstone was laid in secret, with only the above three men present. Even with the official opening of the College two years later, John A. Macdonald's wry comment that 'even Methodists cannot steal bricks and mortar'[6] was almost proved wrong. Egerton Ryerson and his allies in the Methodist cause made a concerted effort in 1860 and again in 1863 to do just that and their successors very nearly succeeded a generation later during the discussions leading to University federation.

The construction of the building itself was not without controversy, at first over the design and later over costs. The architect, Frederic Cumberland,* had already made his name locally with St. James Cathedral and the Toronto Mechanics Institute. He also designed the Toronto Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory, relocated in 1908 to its present site in front of Hart House. His initial proposal for a gothic building was overruled by the Governor General who wanted an Italian design, of which Langton's considered opinion was 'if he were not Governor General and had written a book on art, I should have called one of the ugliest buildings I ever saw.' Head then suggested a building in the Byzantine style and he and Cumberland

> 'concocted a most hideous elevation. After this the Governor was absent on tour for several weeks during which we polished away almost all traces of Byzantine and got a hybrid with some features of Norman, of early English, etc. with faint traces of Byzantium and the Italian palazzo, but altogether a not unsightly building and on his return His Excellency approved.[7]

Langton controlled the project's purse strings, and was constantly on guard against any unnecessary extravagances. Detailed specifications* were drawn up, revisions to the drawings were ongoing and only those signed both by Langton and the contractor, John Worthington, were used in the construction. From the beginning, the project faced cost overruns, so it was proposed initially that Convocation Hall and the 'Chemical School'* be eliminated and that cheaper materials be used where possible in the main building. While both edifices were eventually retained, Langton and Cumberland soon quarrelled over the chemistry laboratory, the first structure erected specifically for that purpose at a Canadian university. As envisaged in the original design, it would be a round stone building that would anchor the western end of the front elevation. The Building Committee, in the interests of economy, decided instead on a "plain brick building in the rear, but their plans were defeated by finding the present building far advanced; the Architects having ordered this in express variance with the instructions of the Committee, and proceeded with it as the earliest portions of the buildings." Cumberland had taken advantage of a temporary absence by Langton to maintain the integrity of his design and to provide himself with an office while the rest of the building went up.[8]

Langton was furious and rode herd on Cumberland for the rest of the project. As a result, the plans for the West Wing (the residence), prepared in January 1858, were to "omit all unnecessary ornament, and to design this portion...on the plainest and most economical plan consistent with its relation to the main building." The Dean's residence as originally envisioned was omitted and built instead into a portion of that wing at the expense of rooms for students. Convocation Hall* was eventually constructed in the East Wing at a cost not to exceed £5,000, with the elimination of certain architectural

features – including a lantern in the roof and a window gallery at the north end – and much of the envisioned ornamental detail. The omission of a proposed residence for the president of the College removed the need for a cloister along the courtyard side of the hall.[9] University College still cost more than the original estimates due, in large part, to unavoidable changes in the design of the building as construction proceeded.

CASE THREE
THE PROFESSORIATE AT PLAY

With the removal of the faculties of law and medicine, the faculty at University College consisted of a number of chairs of broad disciplines in the Arts – classical literature, logic and rhetoric; metaphysics and ethics; chemistry and experimental philosophy; the theory and practice of agriculture; natural philosophy; history and English literature; natural history; mineralogy and geology; modern languages; and meteorology – along with a lecturer in oriental literature. The nature of the teaching programme changed over time – modern languages was reduced to the status of lectureship in 1866 – and other lecturers and tutors were slowly added as funds became available and the student body expanded (the 113 students in 1853 had tripled in number by 1880). After 1887, with the reintroduction of medicine and law to the curriculum, and the introduction of new subjects such as political economy, the number of faculty members increased rapidly.

The academic programmes have been discussed at varying lengths in university and departmental histories. What is less well known in what the teaching staff did in its spare time, other than the rounds of religious and social events that were an integral part of Victorian society. The professors conducted lectures from 9:00 am until 2:00 pm, freeing their afternoons for writing and for a favourite pastime, walking. Tutors (primarily those in Modern Languages and Classics) taught from 3:00 until 5:00 in the afternoon, during which hours laboratory instruction was also traditionally given.[10] Surviving paintings, sketches and photographs of the period show professors in academic robes striding across the university grounds or along Taddle Creek, often accompanied by students.

Walking was an acceptable pastime because it did not involve manual labour and was, in the days before a reliable public transport system, a necessity. Fishing was also taken up by many of the faculty. Avid fly fishermen included W. H. Ellis,* professor of applied chemistry in the School of Practical Science, and members of the Miller family, one of whom, William Lash Miller,* later became head of the Department of Chemistry. Aficionados later had more opportunity to practice their craft when the faculty playground, the Madawaska Club,* was established on Go Home Bay in the Muskoka district in 1898. Members of the faculty seldom had the means to travel widely; a trip or two to Europe during their careers was all most could look forward to. (Accounts of some of these trips, like those made by W. H. van der Smissen,* lecturer in German, have survived). Go Home provided a cheap and, after the introduction of a reliable steamer service at the end of the nineteenth century, a relatively accessible place to spend the summers away from the heat of Toronto. In earlier years, professors had gone elsewhere. Daniel Wilson, who became president of University College in 1880, usually spent several weeks

each summer in the cool air of the White Mountains in New Hampshire or along the coast of Maine where he was able to indulge in one of his favourite leisure activities, painting.*

In the 1890s an attempt was made to take advantage on campus of the growing popularity of the game of golf. While there were now two clubs in the city to promote rivalry amongst the faculty some, who lived on Avenue Road, wanted an opportunity to play closer to their residences. There was still plenty of space north of Hoskin Avenue, where a proposed residential development on Devonshire Place had failed, and east of the Taddle Creek ravine. Over this, beginning in 1898, a ten-hole course was laid out, while land east of Queen's Park Drive owned by Victoria College provided an additional three holes.* Avid players included professors Ellis, Maurice Hutton (classics), J. J. Mackenzie (pathology), and the two Georges – Wrong (history) and Needler (German). The game was not restricted to faculty; students (including women) also joined – one even laid out the main course. They extended the legendary rivalry amongst the arts, medical and engineering students to this game. Such was its popularity that in 1899 the annual match between the faculty and the students attracted 25 participants to the side. In 1900 a trophy, the Challenge Shield,* was instituted and competed for until 1906, by which time the course had become too rough for playing and the construction of private and university residences on part of the land had severely curtailed space.[11]

Members of the faculty were also expected to assist students with their extra-curricular activities in student clubs and societies. Few equalled Daniel Wilson in their dedication. He initiated the founding the University College Literary and Scientific Society in 1854 and acted as its mentor until his death in 1892. Most of the professors were associated with a particular group for only a few years. Henry Croft served as the first president of the University College (later University of Toronto) Rifle Association from 1861 until 1867; forty years later Lash Miller served as its honorary vice-president for several years. Surviving memorabilia document how well he performed in rifle practice.*

CASE FOUR
VARSITY STUDENTS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

The basic issues facing students at the University in the nineteenth century have much in common with students today: fees, lodging and food, the quality of the courses offered and the choice of subjects, and the abilities of their professors. In addition there were other issues. In the 1850s the fledgling institution, University College, was not assured of survival, and the students were only beginning to develop the *esprit de corps* that brought Convocation, the graduates of the University, to its defence in the 1860s. This was given a great boost in February of 1854 when Daniel Wilson, drawing on his experiences as an undergraduate at the University of Edinburgh, initiated the founding of the University College Literary and Scientific (later Athletic) Society.* The Lit, as it is affectionately known, amply fulfilled Wilson's expectations for it has survived as the student governing body in the college and has served as a model for similar societies elsewhere. One of its first actions was to establish a reading room and to stock it with magazines. It also inaugurated a tradition of monthly debates that were open to the public, enabling students to hone their oratory skills.[12] In 1864, an annual evening of entertainment, the Conversazione, was initiated. This event, which consisted of a predictable programme of songs and musical solos, quickly grew stale.[13] Measures were taken to revitalize the event but the Lit suffered a severe financial blow in 1890 when items borrowed and rented for the occasion were lost as University College burnt down just as the guests were arriving.

The Lit was led initially by the forty or so students in residence who, through living somewhat isolated lives away from town, created their own fun and sense of belonging. For example, they created a secret society to which all students were required to belong (in the 1860s it was called the Neo-Platonic) and before hazing was introduced in the 1880s, "each student had to pass an examination, in which Wit and Worth were the keys to success."[14]

At the annual Lit elections, the residence students formed the core of the Inside Party* which defended its ascendancy successfully for many years against the Outside Party* that was centred round the day students. Voting day was dominated by a spirited show of physical strength in the guise of the Brute Force Committee,* as a later reminiscence records.

> The huskiest members of opposing parties donned football or other negligé and scrapped for the possession of the door of the poll, which was always strongly reinforced by timbers and open just sufficiently to allow a Toronto-boarding-house-fed voter to squeeze through. The party which got possession of the door...kept opposing voters out and pulled their own in.

This contest lasted until about midnight, then the poll was opened and voting went on until about 3:00 am.[15]

Over time, other student groups emerged to accommodate the diverse academic and extra-curricular interests of the students. Football, the first athletic game played on campus, was well established by the mid-1860s though a formal structure was a decade in the future. In 1866, facilitated by the erection on the back campus of a gymnasium* consisting of a wooden shed with a sty on one end in which the Residence gardener kept his pig, the Dean of Residence established the annual athletic games.[16] One of the earliest formal clubs was the University College Natural Science Club,* formed about 1867; it was followed by the University College Young Men's Christian Association in 1871. By the end of the century, the number of student clubs had grown to encompass most of the academic disciplines – including classics, mathematics and physics, history and political science, and modern languages – and a host of extra-curricular activities, such as music, drama, debating and (a sign of the times) temperance. There was even a committee* that in 1887 produced the first university songbook. Women students, after they were admitted during the 1884-1885 academic year, formed their own organizations, the first being the Women's Literary Society of University College* in 1891. They also joined the men in the class societies for their respective years and in some of the subject-oriented clubs such as the Classical Association and the Modern Language Club that were never segregated.

From the earliest days, there was periodic interest in student publications but often with indifferent results. The first attempt at a student newspaper was the short-lived *Maple Leaf* at King's College in 1846. A proposal in 1855, during University College's darkest days, for a monthly newspaper failed to raise sufficient interest.[17] It would be another fourteen years before the Lit seized the initiative and produced the College's first yearbook, *The Annual* (no volume was forthcoming the following year). The students at Victoria College, then in Cobourg, began producing their annual literary publication, *Acta Victoriana*, in 1878. The next year the Lit published University College's first newspaper, the *White and Blue*.* It was succeeded in 1880 by the *Varsity*, published initially by a joint stock company. Perhaps anticipating University federation, the first attempt at a university-wide yearbook, which included the affiliated colleges, appeared in 1887. As with the *Annual*, only one volume was published. A yearbook that lasted did not appear until 1898; *Torontonensis* would publish until 1966. It introduced a new feature – photographs. The first journal written by women, *Sesame*, was published in April 1897.

The usual student concerns aside, the student body faced the impact of international political events. The "Trent" affair early in 1861 raised tensions between Britain and the United States and resulted in the formation of the University Rifle Company* with Professor Croft as captain; it was attached as No. 9 to the Queen's Own Regiment.[18] The outbreak of civil war in the United

States divided the students into partisans of both sides. While most students favoured the North, among them were a number of men from the South who had come to the University because of the war. When these students objected to the proposal that a black student be admitted to the Lit, the College administration, led by President McCaul and with the support of Wilson and other professors, intervened. Wilson had been appalled by the racism he witnessed in the United States and was well aware that it also existed in Canada. The faculty would not tolerate such discrimination at the University of Toronto and the candidate was elected.[19] The later years of the Civil war raised the spectre of invasion with the anticipation of raids by the Fenians. Students were first called out in 1864 and at the battle of Ridgeway in June 1866, three* were killed, four wounded, and two captured.[20] Students did not fight again until 1885 when twenty-seven joined up to help quell the North-West Rebellion.[21]

Within the University, the students had the advantage of small classes and getting to know their professors and tutors well but, because there were so few instructors, a single incompetent one could have a much greater impact on the academic programme than now. The good professors were much appreciated. "Croft goes over an immense amount of ground in an hour", one student wrote in his diary in 1866. "It is difficult to snatch a note without missing some valuable fact...he is the finest man about the College. In English literature, "Wilson [is] profound on the sonnet. It is really marvellous how much information he can give upon the character, history &c of that species of poetry or verse."[22] The appointment of James Paxton Young as professor of metaphysics and ethics in 1871 brought to the campus the best lecturer the University had yet seen. The students habitually stood and cheered when he entered the room and he was a frequent recipient of the mark of appreciation when he made a good point during his lectures – the stamping of feet.[23]

The students, however, did not suffer incompetence or laziness gladly and took their revenge as they could. As already noted, their dissatisfaction was a factor in the retirement of James Beaven as professor in 1871. On 6 November 1866, "one of the seats in Beaven's lecture room found itself on end to welcome the Professor. He took no notice of it. Some body outside battered the door. He did not seem to notice it." Stuart Foster, the classics tutor that year who was habitually late, was "fastened out of his room [again] to-day and his footstool found a resting place upon the top of his table. Sturgeon had to be summoned with a screwdriver to take three screws out of the door..."[24] Dissatisfaction with some of the professors was a continuing phenomenon; one the worst offenders over the years was W. H. Vander Smissen who was noted for his frequent absences and for repeating his lectures. The students stayed away in droves. Bessie Scott recorded in her diary in January 1891, "Vander's lecture *awful* – first I have attended since October".[25]

By the mid-1880s, with the impending expansion of the University beyond University College and the rise of new academic disciplines in other universi-

ties, a clamour for changes to the curriculum also arose. In the 1890s, President Loudon's stormy relationship with the students (he personally turned a fire hose on them shortly after becoming president), attempts by the administration to control what the students thought and wrote, alleged nepotism over appointments to the faculty, and complaints about the quality of teaching led to the student strike* of 1895. It culminated in a four-day boycott of classes following the dismissal of a popular professor of Latin, William Dale, who had dared to voice criticism of academic appointments in print. When the Latin tutor, F. B. Hellems, resigned in support of Dale, the Classical Association launched a petition* to have him reinstated. The strike had a long-lasting impact on relations between the faculty and the students, partly because future students were not allowed to forget that the University had refused to lift the suspension of James Tucker,* the idealistic editor of the *Varsity* and one of the leaders of the strike. The strike also led to enmity between some members of the political economy class and William Lyon Mackenzie King, the future prime minister. At a public meeting he had moved the resolution calling for a strike, but then continued, with some other students, to attend classes. For this he was not forgiven, as a letter* from a former class-mate, written much later, demonstrates.[26]

CASE FIVE
RESEARCH AND NEW PROGRAMMES, 1890-1950

In the nineteenth century the University of Toronto was overwhelmingly a teaching institution; lack of funds and facilities made the development of any research programme difficult. The highest academic degree, the MA, had "not [been] highly regarded. No special courses were provided, nor was residence at the University required."[27] By the early 1890s, with the reintroduction of the teaching of medicine, the expansion of the physical plant of the university, and a growing demand that students ought to be able to do graduate work in Canada, the stage was set for change. A start had been made in 1890 with James Mark Baldwin's psychology laboratory, the first such facility in the British Empire. Then, in 1897, two important developments occurred at the University: the introduction of a doctoral programme and the sixty-seventh annual meeting of the venerable British Association for the Advancement of Science (affectionately known as the British Ass),* the second time it had gathered outside Britain (it would meet in Toronto again in 1924). While this first large gathering of scientists in the city aroused considerable interest, papers and demonstrations were presented by only three University professors – W. H. Ellis, Lash Miller, and A. B. Macallum,* the young and promising physiologist. This was a tacit acknowledgement that research at the University was in its infancy and that the University's stature in this area lay in the future.[28]

Ten years later the University had new buildings for physics, medicine, and engineering and new faculties had been created in education, engineering, forestry, and household science. While the new facilities and disciplines made the University more attractive to researchers, even as late as the First World War professors could find time for research only between lectures or in the evenings.[29] In physics, John McLennan, the second person to receive a PhD from the University, did pioneering research on helium during the First World War. He and his staff, including E. F. Burton, constructed the world's first helium production plant in Hamilton. This and his subsequent involvement in determining the green line in the aurora borealis* made McLennan internationally famous. In the 1930s Burton directed research that led to the first working electron microscope.*

In engineering, the advent of manned flight involved the pioneering efforts in 1908 and 1909 of graduate students F.W. "Casey" Baldwin and J.A.D. McCurdy. At the University, excited engineering students built a model* of the Curtiss biplane for their annual ball in 1911. During the First World War the emphasis was on the practical side of the war effort rather than research. The presence on campus, from 1917, of the Imperial Royal Flying Corps and the No. 4 School of Aeronautics resulted in a lot of aircraft (or portions thereof) on campus for training purposes. In the same year a rehabilitation program for invalid soldiers was set up in Hart House and headed by H. E. T. Haultain; it

formed the basis for the occupational therapy program established after the war. The next step was the construction on campus in 1918 of the first wind tunnel in Canada, but an academic programme in aeronautical engineering (the first in Canada) did not follow until 1928.

Much of the research carried out at the University before World War II was in medicine. New facilities – a medical building (1903) and the Toronto General Hospital on College Street (1913) – enabled the University to attract quality talent. In addition to local men such as A. B. Macallum (now a biochemist and soon to become the first head of the National Research Council) and J. J. Mackenzie in pathology, the University drew from abroad T. G. Brodie, a physiologist, and Ernest Jones, a psychoanalyst who had worked with Freud and Jung.[30] Jones created a sensation locally because of his then novel stress on sexual matters in his teaching. The nervousness of parents may have been influenced by talks on the evils of masturbation being delivered in schools by provincial officials. Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1914, an anti-toxin laboratory (the forerunner to the Connaught Laboratories) was established near the campus and, under the direction of John G. Fitzgerald, began producing antitoxins for diphtheria, smallpox, meningitis and tetanus. Once hostilities began, federal monies were directed to producing tetanus for Canadian troops.

By the early 1920s the University had developed excellent medical research facilities. Support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Eaton family resulted in the establishment of a chair of surgery and the appointment of the first full-time professor of medicine in the British Empire, in the person of Duncan Graham. The discovery of insulin by Banting* and Macleod in 1922 raised the status of the University internationally and the creation of the Banting Research Foundation* and increased support from the provincial and federal governments made more research funds available. But the discovery was double-edged, as it affected some of the solid gains made elsewhere: "scientific research at the University was in a sense held back by the discovery of insulin...Some of the research momentum that had been established was diverted and perhaps lost."[31]

The First World War delayed the construction of much needed new facilities on campus and the introduction of new academic programs. In the inter-war years a substantial number of the latter were introduced. They included music (1918), university extension* (1920), hygiene (1924), dentistry, the teaching of which was taken over from the Royal College of Dental Surgeons (1925), physical and occupational therapy (1926), nursing (1933), fine art (1934), geography (1935), physical and health education (1940) and Chinese studies (1943). The introduction of the bachelor of architecture degree and the arrival of Eric Arthur, both in 1922, signalled a change of focus in this program within the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering. Arthur's students produced some stunningly modern designs* in the late 1920s and the 1930s. Astronomy

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Tickets for the Course, 2s. 6d. each, may be obtained of the Committee, Treasurer or Secretary of the Association; at Mr. Dunsett's, Library, and at the Bars of the respective Inns. Single Admission, 1s.

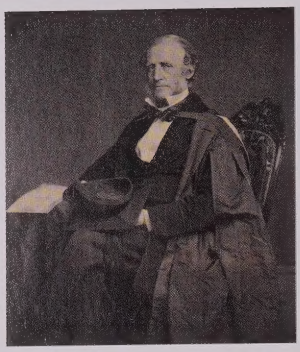
By order of the Committee,
Wm. T. NEVE.
Hon. Secretary.

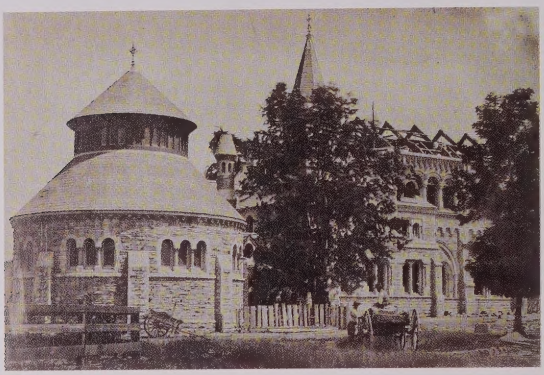
Cranbrook, January 5, 1846.

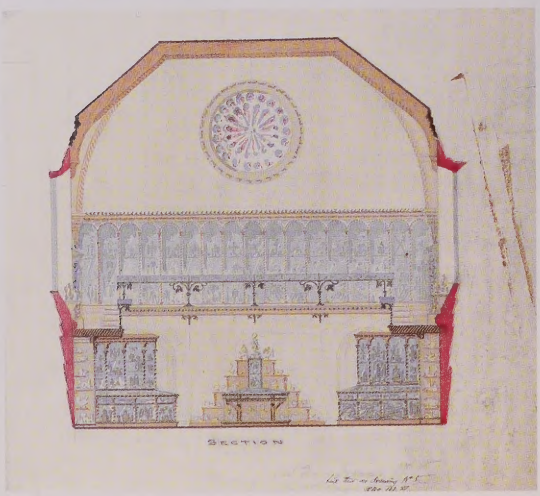
G. Watts, Printer, Stone Street, Cranbrook.

CASE ONE KING'S COLLEGE

Sketch of King's College by Catherine Beaven, n.d.
Henry Holmes Croft (Notman & Fraser photo)
Announcement of lectures by George Buckland, 1846

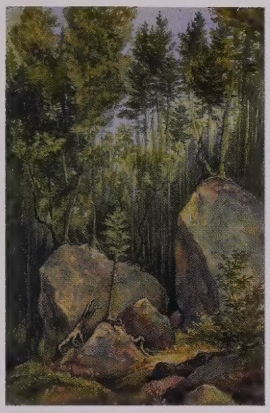






CASE TWO BUILDING A COLLEGE

Portrait of John Langton, chair of the Building Committee for University College
Frederic William Cumberland, architect of University College
Photograph of the chemistry laboratory, University College, 1858, then being used as the architects' office.
Architectural drawing of the west window in the University Museum, 1857(?)



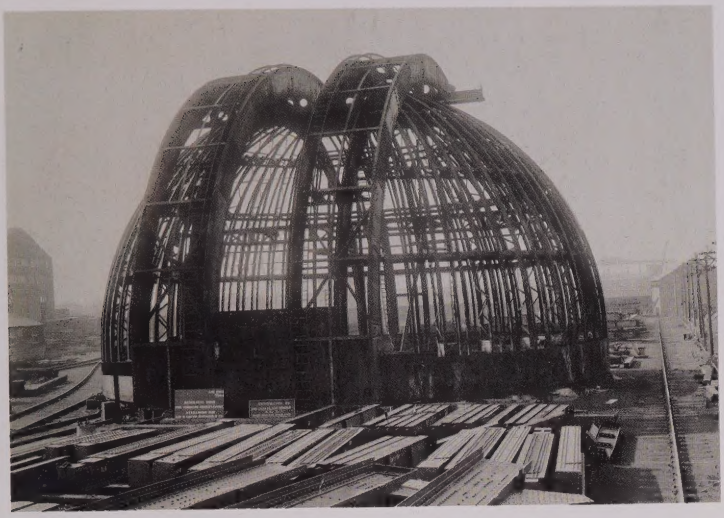
CASE THREE THE PROFESSORATE AT PLAY

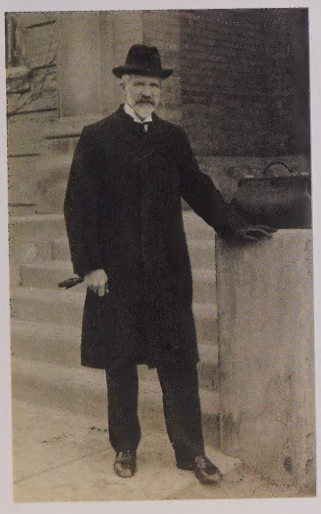
Painting by Daniel Wilson – "Road to the pool, Pemigewasset River, N.H., Aug. 16, 1881"
Professor W. H. Vander Smissen going down a salt mine in Berchtesgaden Germany, June 1889
'After lunch' on Go Home Lake, 7 August 1899

Officers of the Women's Literary Society, University College, 1894-5

CASE FOUR VARSITY STUDENTS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA

Officers of the Women's Literary Society, University College, 1894-1895
Sketch of 'Canadian volunteer', by Arundel Charles Hill, 4 April 1866; it is in John Langton's copy of the University College calendar, 1865-1866.
Menu for the farewell banquet of 'K' Company, 1893





YE RED LYON CLUBBE
At Toronto. Aug. 24. 97
Ye Feedynge Tyme will be 6 of ye Clocke. in ye College Feedynge Benne.
Ye British Ass'n hys 2eyonde Vysite to Canada.

CASE FIVE RESEARCH AND NEW PROGRAMMES

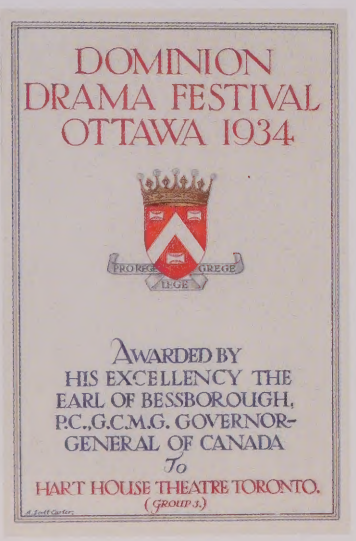
Steel structure for the dome of the David Dunlap Observatory, manufactured by the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Company Ltd., Darlington, England.

A. B. Macallum, professor of physiology, ca. 1905

Menu for dinner in honour of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (the British ASS), 1897

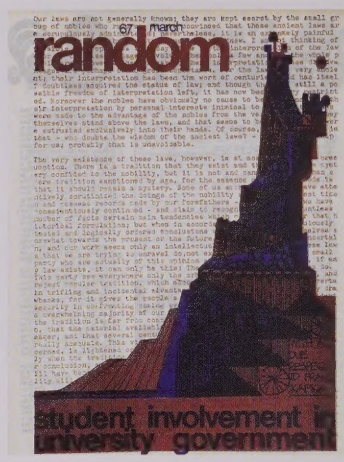
CASE SIX ATHLETICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Member's ticket for the University College Gymnasium Association, 1880-1881
(belonged to David James Gibb Wishart)
Decal – 'Jeux Olympiques, Paris, Mai – Juin – Juillet 1924'
'The sunshine girl', 1903
Rugby Club calendar, 'Varsity 1911', featuring Hugh Gall
Hilkka Maria Filpula, leading drum majorette on campus



CASE SEVEN THEATRE ON CAMPUS

Trinity College production of the 'Frogs of Aristophanes', 1902
'P.B.I or Mademoiselle of Bully Grenay', 1920
Dominion Drama Festival, Ottawa, 1934



CASE EIGHT THE IMPACT OF THE 1960s

Demolition of the old Engineering (School of Practical Science) building, 1966
Random, March 1967 – 'Student involvement in university government'
Education students attending summer school, gathered around 'Hermes' in the Hart House quad, 1968

benefitted greatly from the opening of the David Dunlap Observatory* in Richmond Hill in 1935, a gift of Jessie Donalda Dunlap. The main telescope, with its 74-inch mirror, was the second largest in the world and immediately a great boon to researchers.

Two programs have been selected to demonstrate the diverse ways in which the University was responding to the changing needs of education before 1950. The origins of the Division of University extension dated back to the mid-nineteenth century when professors were much in demand to lecture on a wide variety of topics, illustrated with lantern slides once they became available. A short-lived program of lectures for women was established in the 1860s and a formal program of lectures for working men was created in the School of Practical Science in the early 1880s. A decade later the University struck a special committee to consider a university-wide extension program.

When finally established in 1920, the program had a flexibility the more formal academic programs could not match. It offered courses during the evening and on weekends and, in addition to the popular extension lectures and teachers' courses, introduced short courses* quickly in response to specific requests, sometimes outside the city. Some of these complemented formal academic programs already in place and others (physical and occupational therapy, for example) were first introduced as diploma courses. The first short course (journalism, 1920), was followed quickly by others that included civics and town planning* (1921) and household science (1922), export trade (1923) and graduate nurses (1928). Over time, some of these short courses evolved into full academic disciplines. The present Rotman School of Management had its origins in the Institute of Business Administration, established in 1950. It, in turn, grew out of the certificate course in business* introduced in 1939. It is not surprising, therefore, that the enrolment in University Extension was huge. In 1926, there were 4,859 students in academic programs compared to 2,225 in Extension. By 1947 the numbers were 17,007 versus 13,199.[32]

The idea of a Fine Art program[33] can be traced to the proposal (never realized) for a chair of painting at King's College. The need for it was again stressed by the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto in 1906. The Department did not materialize until the mid-1930s when the Carnegie Foundation agreed to fund it, though it had antecedents in the History of Industrial Art program that was established in 1918 but existed in name only. This move took place during an ongoing debate over the place of art and aesthetics in society and the role the University might play in shaping the aesthetic experience. Artists such as Arthur Lismer, an authority on art education, bemoaned the lack of a fine art program, a concern that was increasingly shared by University officials.

When John Alford* was appointed to the chair of Fine Art in 1934, he oversaw a department with the dual purpose of "providing the students both with the theoretical and historical study of art and with practical experience in the

creative process (evaluation and criticism being assumed as part of both). In the Thirties the visual arts led a very meagre existence in Toronto...yet this department offered studio courses as well as courses in art history in all four years of the Honour Course."[34]* Alford was able to accomplish this because he was permitted to hire "an impressive group of artist-educators...[including] several well-known artists: Fred Haines, Charles Comfort and Peter Haworth."[35]

When war broke out again in 1939, the University was much better prepared to play a role as a research and teaching institution than a quarter-century earlier. The larger faculty, more research programmes, and a well-established graduate school had an immediate impact. The Division of University Extension moved swiftly to introduce an aerial navigation course and to participate in an education program for the troops. Within a few months the Department of Physics had developed special radio [radar] courses for naval officers and technical courses for ordinary seamen. Hart House was given over to the use of members of the military taking courses on campus. The seconding of many faculty members to the war effort resulted in a shortage in the teaching staff. Professors who remained on campus took on additional duties while others went to Ottawa and overseas. The University responded by hiring women at a much greater pace than heretofore to take up the teaching slack. Among them was Elizabeth Allin who had recently completed studies at Cambridge under the leading physicists of the day.

Many members of the faculty made original and substantial contributions to the war effort, much of which was co-ordinated through the National Research Council. George F Wright, an organic chemist, helped develop the powerful explosive, RDX. Kenneth Clark, a zoologist with a keen mathematical mind, worked on projects ranging from refining the shape (and therefore the accuracy) of shells to the effects to hypothermia. Wilbur Rounding Franks is famous for developing the first serviceable flying suit,* a boon to pilots involved in aerial combat and the forerunner to the space suit. Faculty in preventive medicine sought with considerable success to improve the purity of penicillin which was being produced by the Connaught Laboratories in the old Knox College building on Spadina Circle.

Others worked in the controversial areas of biological and chemical warfare. One person at least, the chemist Fred Beamish,* conducted undisclosed research on the atomic bomb. The impact of this new weapon on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was investigated late in 1945 by Omond Solandt, a medical graduate of 1936 who had been seconded by the British government. Solandt was supposed to report on military installations but, finding none, he turned his attention to assessing the medical issues arising from the dropping of the bombs.[36]* After the war he headed the Defence Research Board which funded many scientific research projects at the University in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

CASE SIX
ATHLETICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The University of Toronto has a long and notable history of athletic achievement. That of the men is more prominent for they had a head start in years and have for most of the period received much greater financial support and publicity. The women have had to struggle for much of the University's history against inadequate facilities and funding. Only recently has women's athletics come into its own, with equitable funding and considerable interest and support from the public.

The early years of athletics on campus were marked with primitive facilities and no formally organized athletic programs. By the 1890s the situation for male students had greatly improved. 1893 saw the opening of a first-class gymnasium (the University's third, but the first to be designed as such and properly equipped), the establishment of the University of Toronto Athletic Association to govern athletic programs, and the appointment of the first athletic instructor, A. C. (Casey) Williams. The position of physical director, to co-ordinate athletics and physical training, was added in 1907.[37]

In contrast, the first athletic facilities for women consisted of a small and immediately inadequate gymnasium in the southeast tower of University College that opened in 1901. Victoria College made do with an ill-ventilated basement gym while the women at Trinity had use of the Collège gymnasium.[38] Each of the colleges had its own athletic club that worked in conjunction with a programme in physical culture that consisted of "dumbbell exercises, club swinging, fancy steps and marching". This combination was designed to "give every woman an opportunity to satisfy this need of systematic regular exercise and to help make her physically efficient to fulfil life's duties."[39] The Toronto University Women's Athletic League, formed in 1905, helped foster an interest in athletics and competition between the colleges. There was a woman instructor was in physical culture at each college, while Williams taught fencing at UC.

By the first quarter of the twentieth century there was a myriad of athletic activities on campus, many of which did well in intercollegiate meets. Amongst the men cricket enjoyed a brief revival but, along with baseball, suffered because it was played during the summer months. A rowing club was established in 1897 and briefly flourished, a forerunner to its revival in the 1920s. Basketball as an organized activity dated from 1908 and attracted considerable interest until the War. Lacrosse, tennis, assault-at-arms (boxing, wrestling and fencing), golf (while the course existed) and gymnastics also had their enthusiasts. Rugby football* was the premier spectator sport (Association and English rugby football also had strong followings) with hockey gaining rapidly in popularity.

Amongst the women basketball and tennis ("especially among those do not

indulge in the more strenuous sports") were the earliest games played in inter-college and inter-year competitions. From 1909 the women at University College benefitted from weekly access to the men's gymnasium to play basketball. Golf was instantly popular and field hockey had a loyal following, especially at Victoria College. Fencing and gymnastics first gained adherents at University College where they had access to facilities and training. In the early 1900s, ice hockey became perhaps the most popular sport in all three colleges and today has perhaps the strongest history of excellence. A swim club formed at University College in 1909 attracted sixty participants in its first year but had to use facilities off campus.[40] The only pool on campus was in the Lillian Massey Building, completed the same year, but it was too small for many events (it was immediately dubbed the 'bathtub').

Rugby football grew quickly in popularity after the senior team won the first Canadian intercollegiate championships in 1898. But seating was limited and by 1909, when Varsity won its second Dominion championship and the first Grey Cup, the games had been played in Rosedale for several years. In 1911 the University built a 11,000 seat stadium which was finished in time to accommodate the capacity crowd that cheered its team on to victory and the University's third Grey Cup under the leadership of Hugh Gall* and Jack Maynard, the captains in 1910 and 1911 respectively. (Gall has been described as Canada's greatest half back of the period and Maynard as one of its greatest backs).[41]

A hockey rink had first been made on campus in 1892 to accommodate the University of Toronto Hockey Club, formed the previous year. From 1897 the campus was flooded each year with rinks, attracting large numbers of skaters of both sexes and more interest in hockey. The donation of the Jennings Cup in 1898 provided an impetus for interfaculty men's teams. Varsity intermediate and senior teams began regular intercollegiate competition in 1902 and in 1908 the senior team achieved a first by winning all the available competitions – City, Intercollegiate and the Amateur Championship of North America.

In a brilliant decade of hockey following the First World War two achievements stand out. The first was the winning of the Allan Cup in 1921. The two wings, George Westman* and Frank Sullivan,* were also members of the football team that had earlier brought home the Grey Cup, perhaps the only students ever to play on championship teams in different sports in the same year. In 1928 Sullivan joined most of his fellow teammates from 1926-1927 to play forward with the team representing Canada at the Olympic Games. With a tally of 38-0, they brought back the gold medal in triumph.

The opening of Varsity Arena in 1926 was a boon to the game and hockey has remained a popular sport. With the founding of an international collegiate league in 1936, play against American teams became a regular feature. Thirty years later, in 1968, a historical footnote was recorded at a game between Varsity played Cornell – the opposing goalie was Ken Dryden.*

Women's hockey began with informal games first being played in the late 1890s. Organized competition between the three colleges began in 1901, but no championship was held until 1908-1909, when a cup was donated and presented to the University College team (St. Hilda's won it for the next three years). The *Varsity* acknowledged the popularity of the game in January, 1910 by publishing a photograph of the University College team,* the first time an image of a women's team had appeared in that paper.[42] As finances were always a major issue with intercollegiate games, only the occasional game was played against teams outside the University until after World War I. Regular games against McGill and Queen's began in 1921 but the former dropped out after four years and Queen's in 1935. In 1924-1925 the Varsity team entered the Ontario Ladies Hockey League and won all its games and the Ontario championship. One of the stars of this team was Marion Hilliard.[43]

The University of Toronto sent a rowing team to the Olympics in 1924. The club had been revived in 1919 by men returning from the War and in a short time it was producing local champions. The 8-man rowing crew* that went to Paris "was entirely a University of Toronto accomplishment. The coach, crew, equipment and facilities were all our own. In just four years the UTRC had grown from nothing to a producer of world-class oarsmen with their own shells, boathouse and university funding."[44] The team was trained under the expert eye of T. R. Loudon and, though it lost to Yale, the resulting impetus boded well for the future. In intercollegiate matches against McGill from 1925 until 1936, Varsity won all but the first two. McGill then disbanded and rowing did not appear again as an intercollegiate competition until the 1960s.

The first women's rowing crew appeared in 1974 but the Argonaut Rowing Club, which provided the facilities, objected to their presence and excluded them until 1980. Women's rowing was established as a team sport in 1978 when the circulation of a flyer revealed a huge, pent-up demand. Within a year the women were winning competitions at the Royal Canadian Henley Regatta and a decade later Olympic-level competitors were emerging. Kay Worthington won two gold medals at Barcelona in 1992, while Emma Robinson was a sliver medallist in Atlanta in 1996.[45]

Beginning in the 1919, the men had access to the newly opened Hart House, built by the Massey family at a cost of $2,000,000. The old gymnasium, located on the site of the north wing, was torn down and replaced by new facilities that included expanded gym facilities, a swimming pool and a new indoor running track. For years this track was the only such facility in Ontario. It was used by Bruce Kidd* when he trained for the Commonwealth and Olympic games in the early 1960s, but when Olympian-to-be Abbie Hoffman tried to sneak in and use it a few years later she was turfed out.[46] (The deed of gift for Hart House forbade the permanent allocation of space for women, a restriction not lifted until 1972.) Women were, however, allowed to use the gymnasium and pool for intercollegiate events, intramural swim meets and basketball* finals.

The lack of adequate athletic facilities for women was an issue throughout the twentieth century; the problem of sufficient changing facilities has only recently been resolved. After the completion of Hart House, the Massey Foundation set aside $125,000 for a "women's building". Sketch plans* prepared by Adrian Barrington of the Department of Architecture in 1921 started a thirty-five year discussion between the Women's Building Committee and the University administration, marked by frustration for the former as action was delayed by the latter. New plans drawn up in 1925 and again in 1936 came to naught; apparently there were not sufficient funds. Hopes were raised in 1939 when Sir Joseph Flavelle willed his residence, 'Holwood' (now Flavelle House) to the University for use by women students and staff. They were dashed, however, as the building was used for other purposes when war broke out and not returned to the women afterwards. In 1955 a women's athletic centre designed by Eric Arthur's firm was finally promised, but the site was changed and construction did not start until 1957. The Benson Building finally opened on 30 October, 1959.[47]

Theatre productions on campus date to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first major production occurred in 1882 when the newly appointed professor of classics, Maurice Hutton,* organized the very ambitious undertaking of producing the *Antigone of Sophocles** in the original Greek. The inexperience of the students and the language difficulties were largely overcome with the assistance of members of the faculty and the production met with considerable acclaim: 'Oxford did it with less success and Edinburgh with less still'.[48] This success encouraged a repeat performance in 1893 that once again involved the University College Glee Club and the newly formed Classical Association of University College. By the end of the century, however, Greek plays were falling out of fashion. The last to be performed for many years was a lively outdoor production in 1902 by the students at Trinity College of *The Frogs of Aristophanes.**

Except for the 1893 production of *Antigone*, there was little formal dramatic activity on campus before 1900, though interest in such a club was frequently voiced. St. Michael's formed one as early as 1897 but, for the most part, the students' interest in drama appears to have been sated off campus in the annual 'Theatre Night' in the 1880s. Traditionally held in conjunction with Halloween and formalized in 1899 as the Hallowe'en Club,* it was the first attempt at a university-wide dramatic society (though restricted to men). The excessive enthusiasm of the participants in 1905 caused it to be shut down by the University authorities and, though it was revived in a different format two years later, it no longer met the needs of the male students seriously interested in drama.

The early years of the twentieth century were noted for the prominence of women in dramatic groups on campus. While one motivation was to raise funds for a women's residence at University College (this lasted until 1905) the principal aim was to teach "voice culture, with the physical poise which attends it...[and] dramatic expression".[49] That was the reason given for the formation of the Women's Dramatic Club* of University College in 1905. Its leadership soon drew students from the other Protestant colleges on campus and encouraged the formation of clubs in women's residences and elsewhere. These were often innovative; the club in Queen's Hall preferred modern playwrights to the current fashion for Shakespeare and mounted in 1912 the first production on campus of a play written by a woman, Hannah Cowley's *The Belle's Strategem.*[50]

The need for a serious dramatic society for men was recognized by the formation in 1913 of the Players' Club of the University of Toronto. Its first production, a play by Henrik Ibsen, underlined the growing popularity of modern works. Though its activities were curtailed by the First World War, the cause of modernism was taken up during the War by the Victoria College Women's Dramatic Club, formed in 1917. This club's interest in the burgeon-

ing "Little Theatre" movement marked a radical departure from the past, with one long play being replaced by several short ones on a variety of subjects.

The return of veterans at the end of the War brought new experiences and ideas to the theatre scene. The leaders were students at Trinity College and the theme was the recent conflagration. Two productions by Harold Scudamore and others with first hand experience of the war were hugely popular; they had a decidedly Canadian sentiment and spoofed life in the trenches and the foibles of war generally. The second of these, *P.B.I.* or *Mademoiselle of Billy Grenay*,* played twice at Hart House and in the Princess Theatre downtown and then went on tour in southern Ontario.

The opening of Hart House Theatre in 1919 had an immediate impact on dramatic productions on campus. Designed as a 'Little Theatre' and described as "quite the best thing of the kind anywhere",[51] it provided students with first rate facilities for their plays and highly professional directors, costume and set designers (including Lawren Harris, J.E.H. Macdonald, Arthur Lismer and Frederick Coates,* art director in 1922-1923 and from 1930-1935) who give them encouragement and inspiration. The popularity of the Theatre and the demand for space, however, soon created problems for aspiring student actors. Within a few years booking space became a real challenge, as did getting any but minor roles in the director's productions.

By the mid-1920s, almost every interest group on campus was putting on at least one play a year. This explosion of interest in theatre and the pressure for space forced the older clubs to redefine themselves. Single-sex groups outside the Catholic colleges disappeared, beginning in 1921 with the clubs at Victoria and University College. The latter folded, to be replaced by the University College Players' Guild which became the leading dramatic group on campus. Its productions were "for members only, enabling it do to work other societies could not attempt."[52] It also had its own space, the auditorium of the new Women's Union, which became the alternate campus theatre and was used by other theatre groups, particularly the language clubs.

The Guild was the "first undergraduate organization to have for its object, not primarily the producing of plays, but rather a development of student interest in theatre and everything connected with it."[53] Plays were read and critiqued, while established actors invited to give lectures and to demonstrate the finer points of the craft. Weekly one-act plays became the norm, written by students such as Louis Alexander MacKay* who also wrote short pieces for the Modern Language Club and penned more ambitious three-act plays. One of the latter was chosen by the director of Hart House Theatre for the 1924-1925 season. The Victoria club, with its very large membership, generally followed the Guild model. Trinity, in the late 1930s, added a new dimension by experimenting with two versions of the same play, using different casts and also with one-act plays in the late afternoon that were free and open to the public.

Another feature of the 1920s was the refinement of the 'stunt nights' of the pre-war dental and medical societies. The engineers, beginning in 1921, organized skits as part of their annual variety night, 'School [later 'Skule'] Nite'. In 1924 the 'U.C. Follies' was organized along the same lines, with one-act plays and skits, dancing, singing and other activities. These send ups of faculty and campus life were received with much acclaim. In the post-1945 years, they served as a training ground for such luminaries of stage and film as Norman Jewison, Wayne and Shuster, and Lorne Michaels.[55]

The burst of creative activity and experimentation that marked the 1920s carried over into the 1930s in spite of the Depression, though the latter had a dampening effect. At Hart House Theatre, the return of Fred Coates as art director in 1930 coincided with the arrival of a new director, Edgar Stone. Coates' mastery of design and lighting enhanced Stone's epic productions such as *Peer Gynt* and *Faust*. These and other productions, including children's shows such as the *Wizard of Oz*, provided a renewed outlet for student participation, as did those of Stone's successor, Nancy Pyper.

A significant innovation was the Dominion Drama Festival and its regional counterpart, the Central Ontario Drama League. The first annual festival of the latter was held in Hart House Theatre in 1933. Wining plays were sent to the national competition, one of the photographers for which was the young Yousuf Karsh*. Another innovation was the formation of the University of Toronto Drama Committee late in 1935.[56] It produced the first university-wide play in the spring of 1936 and in December, with the encouragement of Nancy Pyper, organized the campus' first drama festival. Although the Theatre was left without a director after Pyper's departure in 1937, the space was heavily used by the Drama Committee. The lectures on drama, the writing contests, and the plays drew a large number of students, some of whom went on to a life-time of acting in amateur theatre. Amongst these was Francess Halpenny* who was still appearing in plays forty years later.[57]

With the advent of war, Hart House 'went dark' and was revived in 1946 under the direction of Robert Gill, "who can be said to have fostered what would amount to the virtual breeding ground of Canada's modern professional theatre." He is known for his undergraduate productions where he used students almost exclusively. Richard Partington has compiled a list of over twenty actors and directors who represented not only "the vital core of the new Canadian theatre" that emerged in the 1950s but also made their names in film and as drama critics outside the country.[58] One of these, Donald Sutherland*, continues to inspire students when he drops into theatre venues on campus.

Theatre on campus has undergone a lot of changes since Gill stepped down as director of Hart House Theatre in 1966. The integration of theatre into the academic research program with the creation of the Graduate Centre for the Study of Drama was a major departure from past practice and it took some

time to find its milieu. By the late 1970s the Centre had returned to the community theatre model of the 1920s with major student involvement and an emphasis on producing Canadian plays.

During the University's Sesquicentennial celebrations in 1977 a number of plays were presented. One was James Reaney's *The Dismissal*,* based on the 1895 student strike. Professional actors were brought in for Tennessee William's *The Sweet Bird of Youth** and Anton Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*, the poster* for which forms an interesting contrast to the stage set* designed by Fred Coates for the same play fifty-one years earlier.

In his memoirs, President Claude Bissell remarks that the years immediately before 1967 "were the final period of the old feudalistic university that was based upon certain rigid assumptions that went unquestioned." One of the assumptions was that financial and academic spheres, as represented by the Board of Governors and the Senate, should be kept separate. Another was that the "students were not active participants in the running of the university; it was their happy lot to receive and enjoy what had been decided for their benefit."[59] Both of these assumptions, and many others, were about to be challenged.

There is a public perception that the 1960s was all student revolt but, even at the University of Toronto this was far from being the case. The rise of "student power" came late in the decade. The first rumblings were felt in 1965 with a protest against Adlai Stevenson, the American ambassador to the United Nations, receiving an honorary degree. Student activism took off in 1968 as opposition to the Vietnam War heated up with a concurrent questioning of authority. Certainly, the students had an enormous impact as the orderly governance of the previous decade was disrupted by student demands and changed forever by increased student participation in various administrative and academic bodies. But it was not just what was happening at the U of T that facilitated change. Bissell noted, for example, that it was the deficiencies he observed in the bicameral governing structure at Columbia University during student anti-war protests there that convinced him the U of T should adopt a unicameral system to replace the Senate and the Board of Governors and involve students in the process.[60] Nor was Bissell particularly upset by the decline in deference *per se*; what saddened him was the loss of civility that accompanied it and the tendency of many students to ignore reasoned argument.

The stage for the changes in the late 1960s was set a decade earlier as the administration began planning for the impact of the post-World War II baby boom. It determined that the student population would rise rapidly in the 1960s and, unlike the spike after World War II, would not decline. The university faced two major tasks: the massive expansion and upgrading of the university's physical plant and the hiring of a large number of new faculty. With Canadian universities not producing enough graduates, many of those hired would come from abroad, especially the United States, and they would bring new experiences and new ideas. Maintaining the status quo was neither possible nor desirable.

The province allowed the University to expand beyond St. George Street to Spadina Avenue, with the result that the physical focus of the University changed as the University underwent a massive construction boom. It was a case of out with the old and in with the new. To the west of St. George Street

new buildings were erected for the Faculty of Arts and Science, zoology, chemistry and physics. At the end of the decade the towering and controversial John P. Robarts Humanities Research Library* rose at the corner of Harbord and St. George. East of St. George the process was repeated for the Faculty of Music and for graduate students (Massey College), while the old physics building was taken over by engineering, to which the Galbraith building was added. Between 1966 and 1970 several venerable buildings that had helped define the campus for three generations or more – chemistry, engineering,* biology and medicine – were demolished. The last three were replaced by the massive Medical Sciences complex that also sprawled over most of the green space in that part of the campus and across part of Taddle Creek Road. There were more official openings* of buildings during these years than at any time before or since in the University's history.

Added to this heady mixture of architectural styles (some of them disliked) was a massive expansion of and many changes in the academic structure of the University. Two new undergraduate arts colleges – New and Innis* – were added to the campus and two satellite campuses – Erindale and Scarborough – were carved out of farmland on either side of Toronto. Numerous institutes and centres were also created, one of which, the Centre for Culture and Technology headed by Marshall McLuhan,* probably raised public awareness of the University more than any single event since the discovery of insulin. To accommodate demands for new fields of knowledge and different ways of delivering it, existing academic programs were revamped, some old empires disappeared and others, such as medicine, were greatly expanded. The Faculty of Arts and Science underwent a major curriculum review headed by Brough Macpherson;* one of its recommendations was phasing out of the honours system.

The staid acceptance of the status quo by students in the 1950s could not survive the physical upheavals and intellectual ferment on campus, the riot of Canadian politics, the raised expectations and boundless optimism epitomized in Expo '67, and the spread of the counter-culture with its anti-establishment bias. In the late 1960s, the New Left upsurge made its presence felt on campus (often in ways that alarmed both the administration and the faculty). What began as a broadly based student activist milieu gradually devolved into smaller, more radical formations including the New Left Caucus and the Worker Student Alliance.

Other forms of protest on campus included Tent City* (of which there were three between 1968 and 1971) that highlighted a shortage of affordable housing. Simcoe Hall, the central administrative building, was briefly occupied in the spring of 1970 by the campus women's liberation movement to demand daycare facilities. Two years later hundreds of students again occupied it over undergraduate access to the stacks of the new Robarts Library (forcibly evicted, they increased their demands), an issue that also raised tensions

between the faculty and the administration.* Through the 1970s narrowly based groups, such as Students for a Democratic Society, continued to raise issues like racism and job protection for University staff.

The students, in their extra-curricular activities, reflected this change in attitudes. Interest in established sports, especially football, declined in the late 1960s and few female students now aspired to be a drum majorette[61],* a mark of honour a decade before. Homecoming parades* were still popular, but now they were a venue for much sharper commentary than before, more of it directed at the administration.

The *Varsity* documented these changes in its columns, and other journals appeared on campus, full of new ideas and often daring writing.* The coverage of the appearance on campus in March 1968 of the Beat poet, Allen Ginsberg,* demonstrates very clearly the changing times. The reporter targets an up-tight Pierre Berton as the establishment fall guy and writes openly about sex, drugs, and homosexuality. Another Pierre, about to become prime minister, had recently argued that the state had no business in the bedrooms of the nation and had moved to legalize same-sex liaisons between consenting adults. In October, 1969, shortly after the act was proclaimed, a number of staff and students formed the first openly gay group in Canada, the University of Toronto Homophile Association, with Charlie Hill* as president. Such actions were unthinkable even a few years before. The University had indeed moved on.

* The asterisk denotes reference to an image or item in the exhibit.

1 *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, XI (1881-1890), 132.

2 W. S. Wallace. *A history of the University of Toronto, 1872-1927*. Toronto: U of T Press, 1927, 51.

3 John G. Slater. *Philosophy at Toronto*, draft copy (1998), 29-31.

4 UTA, B1983-1225, Edward Howard to John Fitzjohn Harris of London, Canada West, n.d. (1849)

5 Harold Averill and Gerald Keith. 'Daniel Wilson and the University of Toronto', in Elizabeth Hulse, ed. *Thinking with both hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*. Toronto: U of T Press, 1999, 148

6 *Ibid.*, 148

7 William Alexander Langton, ed. *Early days in Upper Canada: letters of John Langton from the backwoods of Upper Canada and the audit office of the Province of Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1926, 292.

8 *Report of the commissioners authorized to enquire into the expenditure of the funds of the University of Toronto, and...for University College...* Quebec: 'Mercury' Office, 1862, 90.

9 *Ibid.*, 89-91; Douglas Richardson, *A not unsightly building: University College and its history*. Toronto: Mosaic Press, 1990, 103, 105.

10 William James Loudon. '*Tempora mutantur*: sidelights on the early days', *University of Toronto monthly*, 27, 9 (June 1927) 411.

11 *University of Toronto monthly*, 24, 3 (December 1923), 118-119; 24, 4 (January 1924), 164-165; and 24, 7 (April 1924), 313-314; *Varsity*, 19, 5 (1899-11-15); *Torontonensis*, II (1899), 182.

12 A. J. Bell, 'When I was at college', *University of Toronto monthly*, 26, 6 (March 1926), 279.

13 *Varsity*, 16 December 1881.
14 E. M. Bigg, 'Some reminiscences of the sixties', *University of Toronto monthly*, 29, 6 (March 1929), 224.
15 Arthur Murray Chisholm, 'When I went to college', *University of Toronto monthly*, 27, 2 (November 1926), 64-65.
16 *The Annual*, 1 (1869), 88-89; W. J. Loudon, '*Tempora mutantur*', 410. Loudon's sketch of the gym is in case 6.
17 *The Annual*, 1 (1869), 64.
18 J. Taylor, 'The University Rifles', *The Annual*, 1 (1869), 42-43.
19 John King, *McCaul : Croft : Forneri – personalities of early University days*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1914, 87-88; UTA, B1965-0014/004(01) Daniel Wilson's journal entries for 10 September 1853 and 17 November 1879.
20 J. Taylor, 'The University Rifles', 44-45.
21 UTA, B1965-0014/004(02) Daniel Wilson's journal entry for 28 March 1885.
22 UTA, B1982-0003/003, entries from George H. Robinson's diary for 30 October and 6 November 1866; see also A. J. Bell, 'When I was at college', 277.
23 A. J. Bell, 'When I was at college', 277-278.
24 UTA, B1982-0003/003, entry from George H. Robinson's diary for 6 November 1866.
25 UTA, B1980-0033/001(02), diary of Bessie Scott, 15 January 1891. She was the first woman from Ottawa to attend the University of Toronto.
26 H. S.Ferns & Bernard Ostry. *The age of Mackenzie King*. London: Heinemann, 1955, 21-29, and Martin L. Friedland. *The University of Toronto: a history*. Toronto: U of T Press, 2002. Chapter 15; UTA, B1998-0009/001(01), letter from Herbert Abraham Clark to the editor, *Toronto Telegram*, 13 April 1920.
27 Friedland, *The University of Toronto: a history*, 175-176.
28 UTA, B1965-0021/001: Programmes and proceedings of the British Association for the Advancememt of Science, 1897.
29 Thomas McCrae, 'Dr. A. B. Macallum', *University of Toronto monthly*, 34, 8 (May 1934), 217.
30 Much of the information on the medical portion of this section is derived from Friedland, *The University of Toronto: a history*. This particular reference is from pages 241-243.
31 Friedland, *The University of Toronto: a history*, 291-292.
32 These figures are taken from the reports of the Director of University Extension and Publicity, as published in the annual *President's Report*.
33 I am indebted to Professor Lisa Panayotidis of the University of Calgary for the information she has provided on this department in her forthcoming paper, 'Institutionalizing the "culture of the aesthetic": The Department of Fine Art at the University of Toronto, 1923-1945'.
34 UTA, B1998-0036/004(05), Marion Walker to A. M. Kruger, 8 June 1977.
35 Panayotidis, 'Fine Art at the University of Toronto'.
36 For a detailed coverage of many of these and related developments see chapter 27 in Friedland's *The University of Toronto: a history*. See also (for Beamish), UTA, A1968-0007/001(09), letter by President H. A. Cody, 30 August 1945. For Solandt, see UTA, B1991-0015/011.
37 T. A. Reed, *The blue and white: a record of fifty years of athletic endeavour at the University of Toronto*. Toronto: U of T Press, 1944, 11-12, 15-17.
38 Helen Gurney. *A century to remember: the story of women's sports at the University of Toronto, 1893-1993*. University of Toronto Women's T-holders Association, 1993, 1-2; *Torontonensis*, 7 (1905), 362.
39 *Torontonensis*, 10 (1908), 364 and 11 (1909), 385.
40 *Torontonensis*, 7 (1905), 362; 11 (1909), 385-386, 388; and 12 (1910), 357, 359-360.
41 For details, see T. A. Reed, *The blue and white*, 74-75, 103-106.
42 *Varsity*, 11 March 1910, 1. Fortunately, too, photographs of this team have been preserved in the University Archives. They belonged to Minnie Louise Barry, a third year student who played 'point' (see UTA, B1990-0044).

43 A. E. Marie Parkes. *The development of women's athletics at the University of Toronto.* University of Toronto Women's Athletic Association, 1961, 23; Helen Gurney. *A century to remember*, 82.

44 Patrick Okens. 'Blues before sunrise: rowing at the University of Toronto'. University of Toronto: MA thesis, 1999, 50. For a detailed analysis of this period see pp. 28-69; Friedland, *The University of Toronto: a history*, 311-313.

45 Okens, 'Blues before sunrise', 84, 93, 99.

46 *Globe and Mail,* 10 December 1983.

47 Helen Gurney. *A century to remember*, 20-33.

48 *Varsity*, 14 April 1882, quoted in Harold Averill, *Dramatis personae: an exhibition of amateur theatre at the University of Toronto, 1879-1939.* University of Toronto Library, 1992, 2, from which much of this section is drawn.

49 *Torontonensis*, 10 (1908), 329; quoted in Averill, *Dramatis Personae*, 4.

50 *Varsity*, 24 January 1912; quoted in Averill, *Dramatis Personae*, 4

51 Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. James Mavor Papers. James Mavor to Ben Greet, 23 December 1919.

52 *Varsity*, 13 February 1925

53 *Torontonensis*, 27 (1925), 320.

55 Richard Partington, 'Theatre: A matter of direction', in David Kilgour, ed. *A strange elation: Hart House, the first eighty years.* Toronto: Hart House, 1999, 97.

56 *Varsity*, 7 November 1935

57 The information in the last two paragraphs was taken from Averill, *Dramatis Personae*, 13-15 and Richard Partington, 96-97.

58 Partington, *A strange elation*, 98.

59 Claude Bissell. *Halfway up Parnassus: a personal account of the University of Toronto, 1932-1971.* Toronto: U of T Press, 1974, 109.

60 *Ibid.*, 128-129

61 The quintissential drum majorette was Hilkka Maria Filpula (1927-1998). A physical education student, she combined impressive academic achievements with a very active extra-curricular life. Known as "our Hilkka" to her fellow graduates of Harbord Collegiate, she was the leading drum majorette on campus in the late 1940s and the early 1950s. When University of Western Ontario fans kidnapped her after a football game in October 1950, the press hastened to assure everyone that she was being well treated. For a photo of her in her majorette prime, see case 6.

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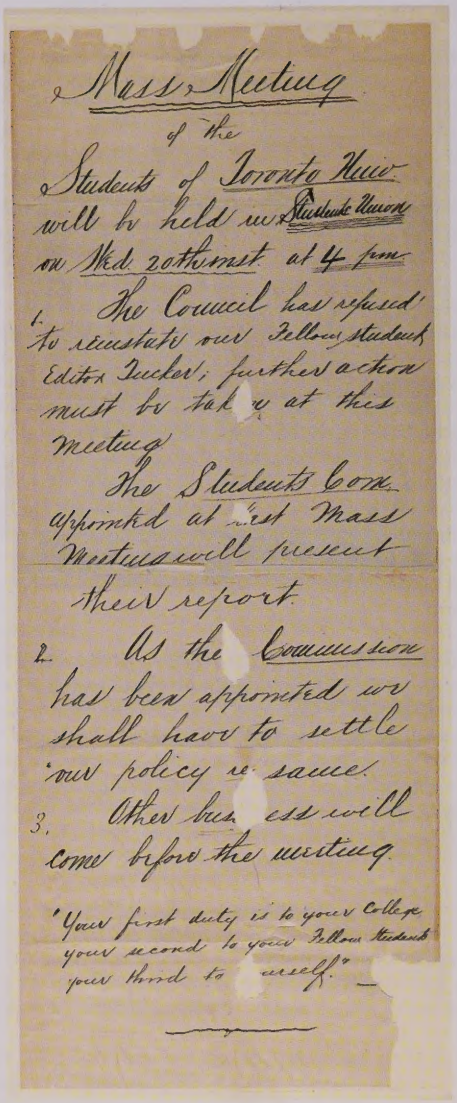

Mass Meeting

of the

Students of Toronto Univ.

will be held in Students' Union

on Wed. 20th inst. at 4 pm.

1. The Council has refused to reinstate our fellow student Editor Tucker; further action must be taken at this meeting.

The Students Com. appointed at last Mass Meeting will present their report.

2. As the Commission has been appointed we shall have to settle our policy re same.

3. Other business will come before the meeting.

"Your first duty is to your College your second to your Fellow Students your third to yourself." —

Handwritten poster for mass meeting re student strike, 1895
Cover illustration: Convocation Hall, ca. 1856 perspective, looking north, by W. G. Storm